Dear Jim, 5/2/74

While Lil is reading your letter of advice and caugtions, I begin a response with generalities. The predominating one I know you will not resent is how totally this reminds me of what led to the private printing of WHITEWASH. There could hardly be a closer approximation.

The mere fact of that experience makes this valuable advice and proper caution. I do not say or think of this in deprecation.

There is one of your formulations to which I will make specific reference in terms of my concept of my personal obligations, at least as I feel them.

We were in Washington today. The doctor agreed with the local diagnosis of what seems to have run its course, promised to make the basic medical data available to the local consortium of doctors to whom we will go in emergency, and addressed an old and infrequent distress that struck me suddenly yesterday in a candor and with that may amuse you. He said some of the nuts and bolts have come looose in your head and they will tighten themselves, shortly.

He is sastified that neither this nor

5/3 (Spectre)

Here Lesar phoned from Boston last night. A friend he had watching the records at the Supreme Court phoned to tell him that after two delays had long expired the government had, finally, filed. This can be interpreted as typical government contempt for the courts, as laziness or other things, or as watching closely and awaiting the moment it was clear from listening to his phone or mine that he would be awy for two weeks when we have only 10 days in which to respond.

After that Lil had an early supper ready. We had notstopped for lunch in DC.

I then took in part of the news on TV and fell into a deep sleep, sitting. Lil finally got me up, I staggered to bed and again into a deep sleep from which I roused about 3 a.m. Time was I'd have then hustled to work. This time I made a fimm decision to get still more rest, to recognize the clear signals from thebody and respect them, and had no difficulty getting in more than two hours more of sack time.

Before I address the substantive, in which, as always, your wisdom and clear vision are so helpful, I should finish with the medical so you will not be concerned.

There is no reason to believe whatever hit me had anything to do with the heart and every reason to believe it did not. When hospitalized my pressure was up a bit but the young doctor then told me it would be a normal reaction for the reading to be high. Yesterday it was down to what it had been on my previous annual checkup, 130/80. I don't know what these things mean but years ago, when the numbers were only slightly smaller, a doctor said these were the tyoical readings of a boy. Prior to yesterday's exam, because I had parked the car to save money and walked everywhere, I had had a brisk and somewhat tiring walk so if anything there might have been a slightly elevated reading. After using the stethescope, the doctor said your heart still sounds like that of an athlete. So far, all good. He has come to know me and my need to understand, so he explained all the things of which he knew that could cause this impairment of balance. I know of one he did not address, brain tumor, but I also know a long serious of X-rays were made years ago on this. So, I have no trouble believing that it is something in the inner ear that can be decided upon by elimination,not by X-ray. I then discussed withhim what I can do to substitute for exercises given me several years ago that make me dizzy and he had sensible advice. Although I don't any longer do any calisthenics because those prescribed did induce dizziness. I have kept myself flexible enough so I can put the palm of my hand on the floor (with short arms yet) without bending my knees. His advice: do what you were told not to do that seemed to work and learn for yourself if it does hurt your shoulders and knees. If it does, stop. If it doesn't, continue. Made sense.

While awaiting Lil, one of the women physical therapists left for lunch. She came upto me all smiles. And we had a short chat. I told her the exercises last prescribed did make me dizzy and she said to come in when I can and they'll see if they can work around them. I know that the gals in that department are all fond of me and have been for years, partly from my work and partly from the silence with which I took the most painful treatment for which poor doctoring was respinsible. They had to physically break adhesions in my shoulders. It took a full three months, thrice a week.

In short, I'm tired, not fighting it, and seem to be medically sound. I raised the

question, could either of these things be all or part psychomatic and the doctor was explicit in saying not and in detailed explanations. He knows me xpxx pretty well because I have gone to him for some years. He was in the middle when I started raising hell over the (inadequate) quality of the medical care we were getting, particularly where there was total indifference to emotional problems stemming from the helicopters, so he knows I am not unaware of the intrustions of emptional factors and when I know of them will and have pursued them to learn all that I can.

He wants me to resume walking as much as I can and I have begun this already. I would take it from what he said and did not say-he could not spend the whole day with one patient- that whatever is happening to my knees is the kind of thing that happens with age. Or, for my age I seem to be in at leastaverage shape and I would say for a man whose life is not one of vigorous physical activity, better than average.

He believes the dizziness will runs its course, that, as he put it, the nuts and bolts will tighten again and perhaps in the future may again loosen. He gave me some medication that might help.

A new schedule begins here today. Lil has a ride into work, which means she has to get there earlier but also that I don't have to make four trips a day, merely two. So I have to get her started earlier. She has personal work she can do before the beginning of her regular day's work.

I'll resumelater, with a carbon for Lesar, whose advice I will also want. I will appreciate it if you would take the time to address the responses I will make to your specifications because I think I should have the best possible understanding of all the factors mitigating against the project.

The a.m. TV news will soon be onm. I have found some of the reporting excellent, particularly given the volume of the material and the limited time for extracting and using. I am also certain much has been missed and that it has not beeen approached the way I think it should be. If I can't get a rsearch assistant I'll have to read myself and note what I would want on each subject.

Danger. You are correct. I had not really thought this through. I had a subliminal awareness that if I am as right as I think I am this has to be the most dangerous thing I have ever done. The odd thing is that I was without personal thoughts on this whenas in speakong to Dick, who is unknown to you or Lesar, I could not have been more explicit in specifying the means other than physical in which he could be hurt. Sp, if I do a book and if I am not the publisher, the deal would have to include some kind of insurance.For Lil, that is. The other kind exists only in the form of duplicates scattered outside my personal possession as well as those I do have.

I am not unaware of the physical vulnerability of our location. I was aware when we bought it and have becomore more aware since. But you have directed me into a different kind of thinking about this.

I address this in my own thinking in two ways that I admit others may find at least simplistic. If I do not do this, will it be done? Need it be done? There is a clear record of which Lesar has been witness in several instances of the absolute refusal of the major media to follow the most specific information the answers to which I possessed when I have the information. Form this it clear that I believe the kind of acid-proof documentation of the worse than failure of the press has become an essential of the overall and must be told. This means, as you say, that the press will be against me and the project. So what else is new? The difference this time is that there is a remote possibility that because of this an element of the press, if it can be approached, may be for it. And if the insanity of the underground press can be overcome, it is a new factor and could be a plus.

I anticipate a different and perhaps larger problem here, fewer talk shows and them more inaccessible to me. No major paper reviewed Whitewash and nobody knew how to get a copy of the book or how to reach me. We have a large mailing list by now. There was a 10% order rate when we announced Frame-Up, aside from those who may have bought at their bookstores. I am told this is an exceptional response to a mailing. Our problem would be paying for that mailing.

After another long interruption: I look back on a long series of decisions and judgements and quite a bit committed to paper. As I scanned headlines in clipping this a.m.'s it became apparent to me that the book on which I have completed 500 pages, aside from the

schizo quality of the beginning, where at two different times I have tried to suit two different German publishers, was exactly right. Aside from literary rather than structural or content defects. I say this with a certain amount of pride but what I am really saying is that I havecome to have confidence in my judgement. That book, today, completed, would do more than fill a need that I believe now will never be filled. It would still say what needs to be said today not only to make the whole mess comprehensible but to tell the people what they need to know to overcome those attitudes to which you may correct reference.

And the perfectly amazing thing is that what I then wrote, Petersen in today's headlines is an example, when it seemed incredible was more than just right on the head. It was and remains essential for understanding.

I lost an agent over the Ervin/Hughes/CIA stuff that after allthe recent writing says more as of a year ago than all the "new" stuff does.

I am saying more. Iam also talking about instincts. I can't say that all I have gotten, on this and in earlier work, comes from sitting down and figuring it all out, much of this as I did. An enormous amount was instinct. I believe that a certain amount of this instinct is the consequence of earlier experience, whenw the processes work sort of automatically, without conscious thought.

The opposite side is that statistically the danger increases and the chance of a big mistake grows steadily in the absence of any.

Now for your letter of 4/29, McCord graf: this conforms exactly to what I have and I feel there has to be something we do not know because it has not been reported. Did anyone know prior to 3/19? (Delivery was via probation officer.)

When you get into the substantive, you display that remkarable quality of combining a direct addressing of one of my great weaknesses, not fully addressing the negatives, so it in a way that says you are not taking a firm position but are on the one hand getting me to face what I tend to shun, and making me aware that these things can be vital. Intermittently from the time I read this last night different aspects have been in my mind, which was fairly well set before then. I will address this later.

6/20/72, which takes up all but the last p.1 graf and is inherent in that: In essence you are right but without enough emphasis on the "fragmentary" part. That still is not the full story of it. Try to recall several letters in which I have asked Barry and others to get me a certain piece of paper bearing that date and public. Hldeman's memo. If with her also remarkable faculty Je can retrieve for you what Strachan testified to about this I think it would be a real strengthening of the line of reasoning you do understand. And it is still not all. Or, there is, I believe, much more to this date and its events. (One of the great needs for a research assistant is to gather them all because it will take so much time. A fair amount is collected when it was disclosed those tapes do not exist.)

And it will not stand alone. There is not one thing only that can be regarded as I regard this date's events.

Perhaps what I have in mindm may be clearer if I try to describe the project with a different title: Nixon's Watergate-The Untold Story. This does not mean only what has not been told but I do hope to be able to limit the told to the essential, like all those tapes do not exist.

Spilling the chile beans would be another, and it also would not be the one probative example of that nature.

If I were to say that there is as of today an untold CIA story that is enough to put all the top men in jail (won't happen) on at least two charges each; and to this add an also untold story of CIA domestic activity, even locating its Washington "station" and some "posts" and put WG figures inside them; and if I were to tie all this to the impeachment effort against at least Douglas (this I have fully enough now) and tie that to Ford; if I were to prove a real conspiracy to protect Nixon against still-unreported illegalities; and if this were still not all, would that change your estimate of the contents? Don't forget Bill Buckley's part. And here I would like to ask about crediting, whichI would prefer and you might not.

In the main you are right about apathy and unwillingness. Let me address this two ways, first in terms of the need of providing that which might, perhaps only with a few, have the capability of overcoming it, and then with a question. are there enough of those who do feel this way who a) could be reached and b) would buy?

Is there not still another and perhaps more meaningful apathy, Congressional? Can this work have the capability of influencing any of those? The votes can't be overwhelming, so influencing even a couple in the Senate could be significant. One way is to make positions untenable.

Top p.2 you have real nitty-gritty, the press. I do intend and I now plan separately, at or toward the end, perhaps in an appendix, addressing what can t be called the mere failure of the media. I regard this as the crux. I believe that had it not abdicated all would have been different. including economic factors. (Thenextent to which the country is going to hell economically is, I believe, unrecongized. What was never short and today need no be actually is. from chlorine to home appliances. GE has cut the scheduled delivery in response to orders for its freezers this year by 52%, a dealer friend just told me.)

Your second graf is probably the best advice. However, the means are limited, for me at least. I can't keep it all in mind any more. I'll have to do this by doing drafts. They would, of course, be subject to revision. While the organization is not on paper and not really clear in my mind, I do plan to separate each of the parts, partly so parts can be cut out without rewriting the rest. Perhaps the WW approach.

You understate in saying I could not today wage the same battles. I gave this up long ago. They are impossible for me now. But I now have an unacceptable means of publication and I will be exploring, in a limited way, possibilities of having the first printing paid for. If it sells out it will provide the costs of any further printing(s).

And suppose I can't get it printed? Let us for the moment ignore your real statement of the hazards. Would it be worth having this if no more than an historic record? Would it be worth (if an unselfishness I can ill afford) having this available for the use of one or two in Congress who might use if any parts? Can you imagine what an eloquent one could do with only the full story of 6/20? If he did no more than ask questions and make no single statement as a statement, except we have have to have definitive answers?

3rd graf: I have in fact delayed decision with this man and told him first that a meeting this coming week is not convenient (true) and that we both have more thinking to do (also true) and that there are ambiguities I'd like him to think about (true and intended to make him think about what I regard as ambiguities, which include a three-month right to delay, which alone would cause me to nay say.)

Mitchell-Stans verdict: generaly you are correct. However, there is one thing that impresses me much in this. Stans' emptional appeal is not the first time he used it. The first time it was proven to be a fake. This is public. The prosecution did not use it. This tells me much. He swore he could not leave his wife to escape having to testify and promptly left to raise more unneeded money.

One of those things to which I had never given thought you put very well: people want to get rid of Nixon but in terms od maintaining their own self-esteem. I think this can and should be addressed and I think it really fits what I have in mind: everybody was conned.

Your fifth graf on the cliches: has this not been addressed for me since you write this by the release of the edited, selected tapes? And the reaction to them? What I would really be doing is filling in the Nixonian gaps. This is a simplification but if you have time for an opinion, I think it may address much of your sage counsel.

Last graf: it is precisely this that even Dick proposes to seek to exploit, like the top line on WW, "The Book that Could Not Be Printed." And even he talks about the underground in format and in marketing.

I would like to take time for more for even the writing helps me think. I haven't read three days papers. Your experiences with your two pieces, both of which I would think could be accepted, is impressive aggruments. But for me this boild down to should someome make the attempt and if I don't, will anyone? Many thanks for the time and the help. Best,